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From ruler to monk: history of the custom

Kyiv, November 2013 – March 2015

Notes for the readers

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Statement of the problem

The goal of this article is to find out the origin of the custom of the Moscow ruler conversion to monk before his death. All read "Boris Godunov", and maybe listened Mussorgsky's opera, but when this custom arose and in what areas / environments has been distributed?

To set the time of its occurrence, we should first make a list of documentary evidence. To do this, I revised volume of "Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles" **excerpting** the following:

1, records about taking the vows by the elite as a monk (regardless of the circumstances);

2. records of the death and burial of the great princes, and their immediate family members (regardless of whether or not they took the vows).

At the same time **do not write out**:

1. records about taking schema by bishops or abbots;

2. records of the tonsure future bishops;

3, a record of the death and burial of ordinary princes, if they are not mentioned vows.

Our statements will relate to 12 – 17 centuries. Fortunately, we do not need to find out the interdependence of the various chronicles – we only collect primary material from them, hoping that these household details have not been the subject of political speculation (and, consequently, editorial interference and later inventions). Cases suggestive of later editorial interference, we examined in detail.

Section "Primary material" is intended for those who are going to continue in any way this work, or who are interested in directly to ancient rhetoric. In the "Summary table" the same material is presented in a more compact form. Even more compressed the material collected in the following analytical chapters. Quite lazy can directly read the "Conclusions".

Primary material

The raw material for our theme contain ancient Rus' chronicles of 13 cent. and Great-Russia chronicles of 14 – 17 cent. In some cases, the act material used.

Vladimir chronicle 1215

Among ancient chronicles the earliest on the final date is the hypothetical Vladimir chronicle of 1215. It preserved in two copies: the first, driven to 1216, has been rewritten in the 1460-ies (in science, he is known as a chronicle of Pereiaslavl-Suzdal), the second – unique in the annals of ancient Russia illuminated – rewritten in the 1490s (in science it is known as Radziwill's chronicle). This copy ends in 1206, apparently, the end was lost. At the same time, in next years, 15 cent., the text very close to Radziwill's chronicle, has been rewritten in the Moscow Academic chronicle.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Laurentian chronicle

Laurentian chronicle leaded to 1304. This unique parchment manuscript rewritten (edited) in 1377. It is believed that it is rewritten from a Vladimir chronicle of 1304, but this copy can hardly be considered mechanical. For example, other chronicle, depending on the Vladimir chronicle of 1304 contain a more full text description of the capture of Vladimir by Tatars (Article of 6745); only in Laurentian chronicle in Article 6771 placed the beginning of a great informative story about Prince Alexander. This story has no end by defect in Laurentian chronicle, and was not preserved in any other chronicles, so it is likely Vladimir chronicle of 1304 did not contain this story.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

1st Novgorod chronicle older recension

1st Novgorod chronicle older recension we quote after academic publishing [[First Novgorod Chronicle](#) older and younger recension. – M. – L., 1950. – 659 p.]. It has been preserved in a single parchment cope, leaded to 1352.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Trinity chronicle

Trinity chronicle (chronicle of 1408, which burned down in 1812) was used after the reconstruction by M. D. Priselkov [[Priselkov M. D. Trinity chronicle. Reconstruction of the text.](#) – M.: 1950 – 514 p.]. In this case, we consider only those fragments that originate from the actual lost chronicle. Most of the reconstructed text is taken from the Laurentian, Simeon and Resurrection chronicles – these records are used in their original texts. But the closer to the end, the greater the part of text belongs to Karamzin extracts from the original chronicle, and they contain a lot of interesting things for us.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Rogozhsky chronicler

Rogozhsky chronicler used for publication in 2000 [[Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 15. Rogozhsky chronicler. Tver collection.](#) – M.: Languages Russian Culture, 2000. – 432 p.]. This chronicler, driven to 1411, preserved in a single copy, written in the 1440's. Earliest date of the copy it especially important.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Simeon 1st chronicle

Simeon chronicle used for publication in 2007 [[Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. 18. T. Simeon chronicle.](#) – M.: Sign, 2007 – 328 p.]. This chronicle is

preserved in a single copy, rewritten by D.F.Laptev in the 1540s in the St. Joseph Volokolamsk Monastery.

Structurally it consists of two parts. First, drivet to 1411, is the Tver treatment of Trinity chronicle 1408 (so it is used by M. D. Priselkov in the reconstruction of the burnt chronicles). The second part of the 1402 – 1408 and 1412 – 1493 years close to Moscow chronicle of 1492.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Sofia 1st chronicle older recension

Sofia 1st chronicle older recension used for publication in 2000 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6, part 1. Sofia First Chronicle older recension. – M.: Languages Russian Culture, 2000 – 8, 312 p.]. This chronicle driven to 1418. It has been preserved in two copies of 1480s.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Moscow Academy chronicle

This chronicle had been published together with the Laurentian chronicle as appendix [PSRL. – Volume 1. [Laurentian Chronicle](#). – L.: 1926-28. – VIII p. – 579 Col.], but modern guide said it was a separate chronicle [Dictionary of the scribes and literature of ancient Russia. 2 half 14 – 16 centuries. – L.: Science, 1989, ch. 2, p. 45 – 47]. Chronicle is preserved in a single copy of the 15th century. It consists of three parts: the first, up to 1206, is a copy of Radziwill's chronicle; the second (1205 – 1238) copied from Sofia 1st chronicles older recension; the third part (1237 – 1418) contains a reduced Notes fron the common chronicles and news about events in Rostov. In connection with such a composition we choose from it only the last part.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Karamzin Novgorod chronicle

Karamzin Novgorod chronicle is preserved in a single copy of the late 15th century. It was published in 2002 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. T. 42. [Karamzin Novgorod chronicle](#). – SPb.: Dmitry Bulanin, 2002. – 221 p.]. In the matter of the origin of this unusual chronicles I agree with Alexander Bobrov [[Novgorod chronicles of the 15th century](#). – SPb.: D. Bulanin, 2001.; also his preface to the 42nd volume of PSRL], that it depends on Sofia 1st chronicle older recension and is primary to 4th Novgorod chronicle.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

1st Novgorod chronicle younger recension

1st Novgorod chronicle younger recension we quote after academic publishing [[First Novgorod Chronicle](#) older and younger recension. – M. – L., 1950. – 659 p.]. Chronicle driven to 1446. It has been preserved in two authoritative copies (commission and Academic) mid-15th century – from the time, close to the time of completion of chronicle.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

4th Novgorod chronicle

This chronicle is used after the publication in 1915 [[Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Volume 4.](#) – Pg.: 1915, part 1 – 330 p.; 1925, part 2 – p. 331 – 470].

Stroev's copy chronicles driven to 1477, filigree his papers are dated 1470 and 1483 years, that is, the list can be considered as the original text.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Avraamka chronicle

Avraamka chronicle come down to us in a single copy of 1460-70-ies (this is a new date is set by [B.M. Kloss](#)). In 1495 in this manuscript were attached additional articles, rewritten in Smolensk by Avraamka (from his addition called the chronicle).

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Ermolin chronicle

Ermolin chronicle used after the publication of 1910 [[Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 23. Ermolin chronicle.](#) – SPb.: 1910 – 239 p.]. It came to us in a single copy, which dates back by filigree to 1491 year. Chronicle driven to 1481, additional notes relate to events of 1485 – 1488 years. Thus, the writing of the manuscript is close enough to the time of completion of the text.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Typographical chronicle

Typographical chronicle used after the publication of 1921 [[Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 24. Typographical chronicle.](#) – Pg.: 1921 – 271 p.]. Now found a lot of copies of this chronicle, the classification of which is the subject of study [[Kloss B.M. Preface to the 2000 Edition. – Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 24. Typographical chronicle.](#) – M.: Languages Russian Culture, 2000]. All these copies are

not earlier than the 1st quarter of the 16th century. Comparing of all copies B. M. Kloss led to believe that the original chronicle was driven to 1489, but almost all the copies were continued. Synodal copy number 789, which is the basis of publication in 1921, continued to 1534.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Moscow chronicle 1492

Moscow chronicle 1492 published in 1949 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 25. Moscow chronicle the late 15th century. – M.: ed. USSR Academy of Sciences, 1949 – 463 pp.]. This chronicle is preserved in two copies, the best of which – Uvarov – refers to the 1st half of the 16th century. Since researchers of chronicle promised in it many original records, it was used to the full extent, at the end of the 12th century.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Simeon 2nd chronicle

Simeon chronicle used for publication in 2007 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 18. Simeon chronicle. – M.: Sign 2007. – 328 p.]. Simeon 2nd chronicle we call part of this chronicle from the years 1402 – 1408, 1412 – 1493. This piece is definitely close to Moscow chronicle 1492.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Moscow chronicle 1493

Moscow chronicle of 1493 refers to a type of abbreviated chronicles. It is believed that it had a common protograph with a reduced chronicle of 1495. It is used after publication of 1962 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 27. Nikanor chronicle. Abbreviated chronicles the end of the 15th century. – M.: ed. USSR Academy of Sciences, 1962, p. 161 – 294]. Chronicle preserved in several copies, the oldest of which belongs to mid-16 cent. This chronicle reviewed from the end of the 12th century.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Chronicle of the 72 languages

Chronicle of the 72 languages known in 3 recensions: Likhachev (driven to 1477, and continue until 1488), Prilutskii (driven to 1497) and Uvarov (driven to 1518) [*Lourie YS Chronicle of the 72 languages*. – Dictionary of the scribes and literature of ancient Russia. – L.: Science, 1989, vol. 2, part 2, p. 21 – 22]. The last two recension published in 1963 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 22. Chronicle of 1497].

Chronicle of 1518 (Uvarov chronicle). – M.: ed. USSR Academy of Sciences, 1963, 411 p.]; from this edition they were used by me.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Sofia 3rd chronicle

Tsarsky's copy of Sofia 1st chronicle was published separately [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 39. Sofia First Chronicle, copy I. Tsarsky. – M.: Nauka, 1994. – 209 p.]. Since this latest chronicle driven to 1508, ie 90 years later Sofia 1st chronicle older recension, it should be called the Sophia 1st chronicles 4th recension. I suggest to it a simplified name **Sofia third chronicle**. This chronicle is particularly important because it has been preserved in the original, and was later the basis for the Resurrection Chronicle.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Chronograph

Chronograph was published in 1911 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 22. Russian chronograph. Part 1. Chronograph edition 1512. – SPb.: 1911 – 568 p.]. History of Russia stated here very briefly, but it contains interesting for our theme parallels from other countries. Continuous viewing the text has given some fruit.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Sofia 2nd chronicle

Sofia Second Chronicle compiled in Moscow in the early 16th century [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6, no. 2. Sofia Second Chronicle. – M.: Languages Russian Culture, 2001 – 8, 240 p.]. It has been preserved in two copies, one of which – Archive – considered an original of chronicle. Start of chronicle lost, it starts at a glance in Article 1397 and Article 7025 comes to an end (1517) of the year. This important chronicle fully utilized.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Joasaph chronicle

Joasaph chronicle came to us in a single copy, written in 1520-40-ies, which in the mid-16cent. belonged to the Moscow Metropolitan Joasaph. It covers events 1437 – 1520 years. In part to the 1478 chronicle as a whole is close to the Moscow chronicle 1492. Researchers believe that the Joasaph chronicle has been an important source for the Nikon chronicle, and since 6961, the Nikon chronicle very closely follows the Joasaph chronicle. Joasaph chronicle used for the publication of 1957 [Ioasafovskaya

chronicle. – M.: ed. USSR Academy of Sciences, 1957. – 240 p.]. This chronicle viewed in its full extent.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Tver chronicle

Tver chronicle used by the publication in 2000 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 15. Rogozhsky chronicler. Tver collection. – M.: Languages Russian Culture, 2000 – 432 pp.]. This is a late chronicle of a very complex formation. In the initial part (up to 1285), it contains the Rostov Chronicle close to Ermolin and Lvov chronicles, with substantial borrowing from Novgorod 1st chronicle. In the part of the 1285 – 1375 it is close to Rogozhsky chronicler. The next part of the chronicles driven to 1402, after which made a new title and a brief overview of the history of the Tver princes from Yaroslav Yaroslavich (died in 1271) to Ivan Mikhailovich, who became prince in 1399; then fed annals for 1402 – 1499 years, where dominated local Tver records.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Vologda and Perm chronicle

Vologda and Perm chronicle used after publication in 1959 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 26. Vologda and Perm chronicle. – M.: ed. USSR Academy of Sciences, 1959. – 416 p.]. This is a late chronicle that in period of 1401 – 1480 years very similar to Simeon chronicle, and for the 1480 – 1538 contains the original text with a certain number of records relating to the Vologda and Perm region. These local records are important to local history (all the more so for many other parts of the Moscow State we have no such notes), but prevails in this part national, Moscow material. Best copy of chronicle – Cyril Belozersky – rewritten in mid-16th century, i. e. shortly after the end of the chronicle.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Dubrovsky Novgorod chronicle

Novgorod chronicle in copy of P. P. Dubrovsky used for publication in 2004 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 43. Dubrovsky Novgorod chronicle. – M.: Languages Slavic culture, 2004. – 382 p.]. It has been preserved in a single copy, driven to 1539; last entry inserted into the article of 7043 – the appointment of Theodosius Archbishop of Novgorod in 7050.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Resurrection chronicle

Resurrection chronicle – an important monument in Moscow chronicles. It was written in the 1542 – 1544's, driven up to 1541 and has been preserved in 13 copies, among which, however, there is not original, nor completely preserved text. According to researchers, the basis of the Resurrection chronicle were Moscow chronicle 1492 and Sofia 3rd chronicle.

Resurrection chronicle used after the old edition [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Annals of Resurrection list. – St. Petersburg.: Type. E. Pratz, 1856, vol. 7 – 345 p.; 1859, vol. 8 – 301 p.]. Given that researchers appreciate the source value of this chronicle, it was revised in its entirety.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Nikon chronicle

Nikon chronicle – a monument in Moscow chronicles 2nd quarter – the mid-16th century. It exists in two main recensions.

Senior recension (presented in the original Obolensky copy) driven to the 1520. Researchers believe the initiator of its writing Metropolitan Daniel. For its preparation were used Simeon and Joasaph chronicles, as well as Chronographical Novgorod chronicle.

In younger recension (presented in Patriarchal copy) text of older recension was supplemented with the use of Resurrection chronicle and the Chronicle beginning the reign and driven to 1558. This recension was the basis of the Illuminated Chronicle.

Nikon chronicle used after the old edition [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Chronicle compilation called Patriarchal or Nikon Chronicle. – SPb.: 1862, v. 9 – 256 p.; 1885, v. 10 – 244 p.; 1897, v. 11 – 254 p.; 1901, v. 12 – 256 p.; 1913, Vol. 13, part 1 – 302 p.]. As the researchers note that Nikon chronicle contains a number of records that are unknown in other chronicles, it was revised in its entirety.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Pskov chronicles

Pskov chronicles – very original, they contain a small amount of borrowing from the general chronicles, but a lot of local messages that do not reflect in any other chronicles.

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Mazurinsky chronicler

Mazurinsky chronicler preserved in a single copy of the late 17th century. Description of the events it has been driven to 1682. It is used after the publication of 1988 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Chroniclers of the last quarter of the 17th century. – M.: Science, 1988, Vol. 31. – 263 p.] in the last part – from the middle of

the 16th century. (For earlier times it takes abbreviated excerpt from the Russian chronicles, diluted with inserts from Stryjkovsky and "Synopsis"). Very unpleasant feature of the chronicler is constant confusion between the dates of the Alexandrian era (+5500 years) and Constantinople (+5508 years).

Full text of excerpts from this chronicle available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Smaller sources

Hypation chronicle (1292). Cyril Belozersky 2nd chronicler (1537). Cyril Belozersky 3rd chronicler (1537). Chronic notes by Marc Levkeinski (1552). Chronicle of the beginning reign (1552). Alexander Nevsky Chronicle (1567). An excerpt from Novgorod Chronicle (1569). 2nd Novgorod Chronicle (1572). Moscow chronicler (1600). The Story of the Life of the king and the Grand Duke Feodor Ivanovich of All Russia (1603). Chronograph with Nikanorovskoy Chronicle (1609). Piskaryovsky chronicler (1615). New Chronicle (1630). Belsky chronicler (1632). Esipov Chronicle (1636). Nizhny Novgorod chronicler (1688). Chronicler of 1691. Novgorod 3rd Chronicle (1722). Annals of Novgorod Saint Nicholas Cathedral (1824).

Full text of excerpts from these chronicles available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Summary table

We reduce now all our notes in a single chronological table, while are found doubling the records and differences of various chronicles.

Differences in the dating of events and clarifcation some dates discussed in [a separate section](#) oh article.

Full table available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

12 – 13 cent.

This table contains 41 records. Full table available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

14 cent.

This table contains 50 records. Full table available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

15 cent.

This table contains 76 records. Full table available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

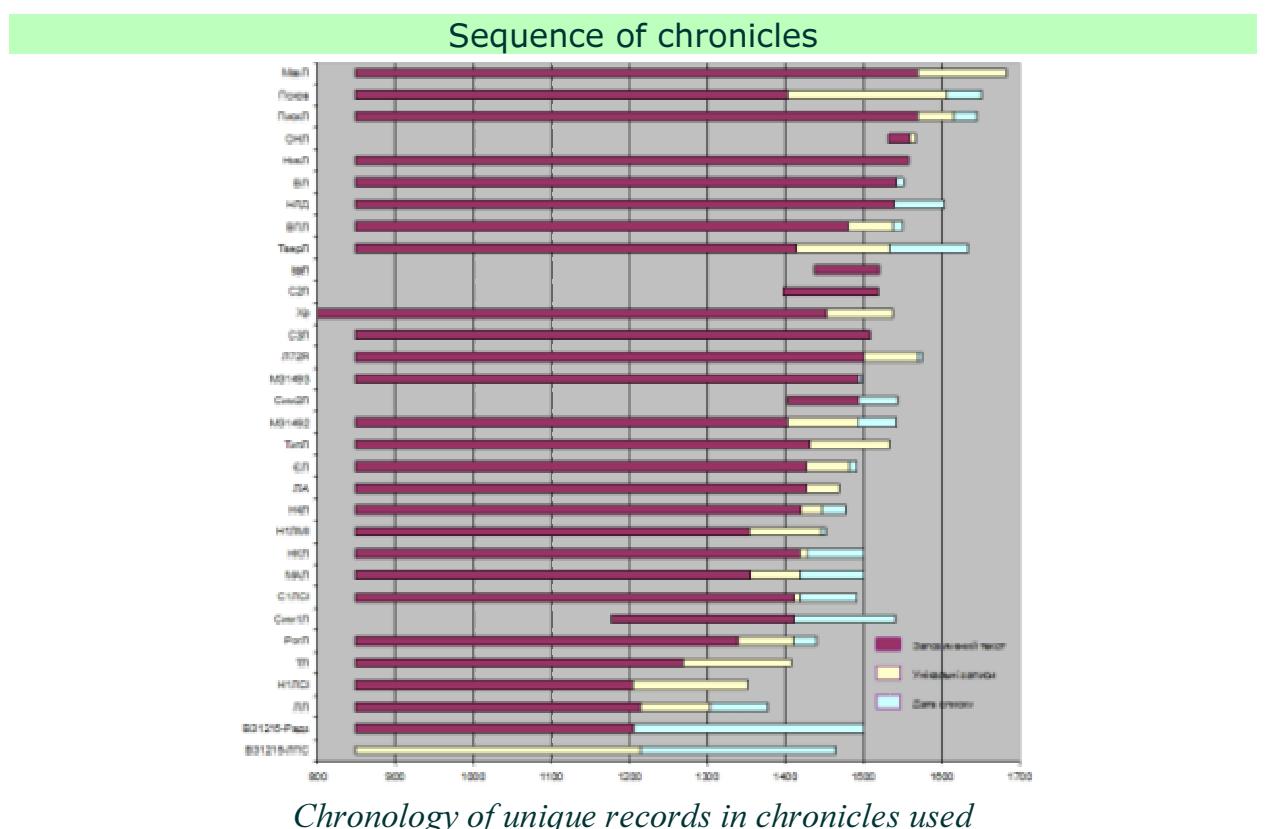
This table contains 38 records. Full table available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

This table contains 25 records. Full table available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

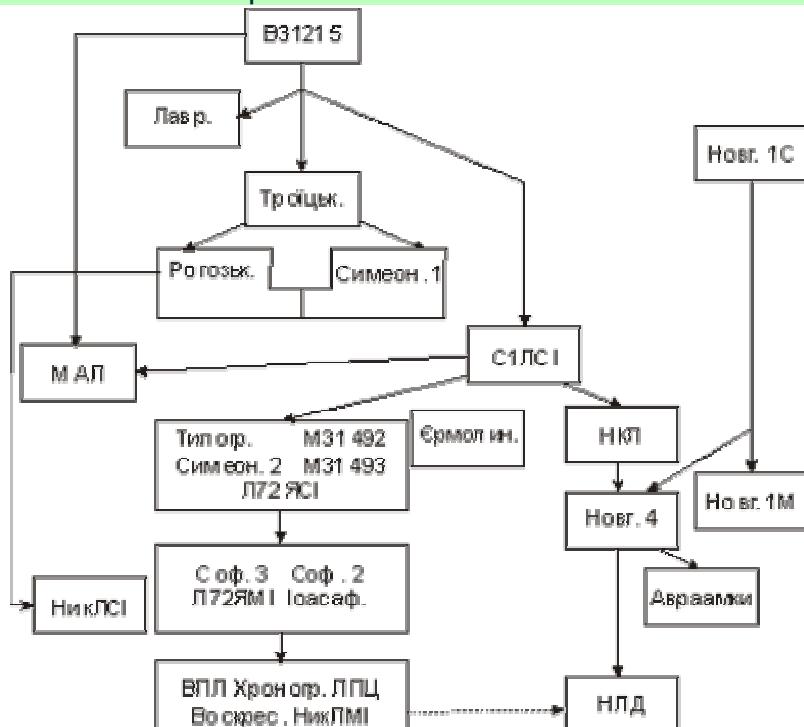
Source studies

Before proceeding to the analysis of the collected material, we consider the question of its authenticity, source values.

Filiation of chronicles



Dependence of chronicles



Simplified stemma used chronicles

Designed by me stemma extremely simplified and focused not on the need of chronicle studies, but on external consumption – for those who only uses data from the chronicles.

Methods of processing records of the death of princes

Full text available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Chronology

Systems of counting years. Transitions between systems. Leap years. Fully qualified dates.

Full text available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Special cases

Analysis of the 13 special occasions. Favorable and unfavorable situation for the tonsure. Mass tonsure.

Full text available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

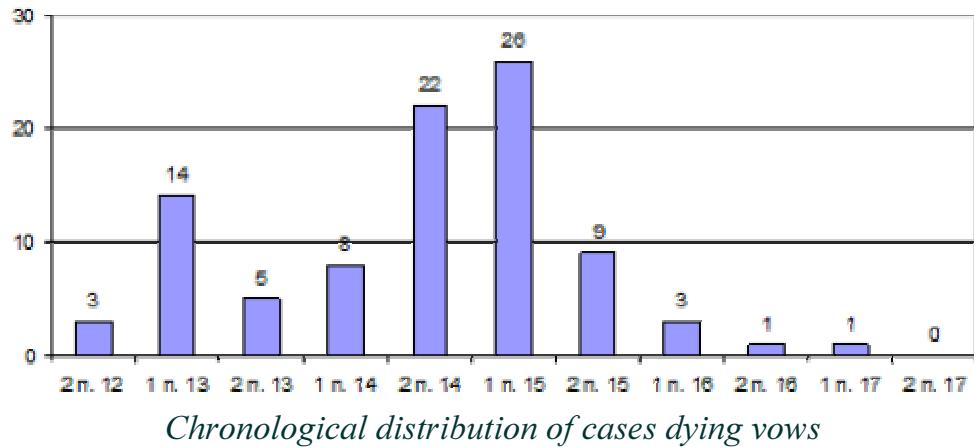
Fictional cases

Considering the four fictional case tonsure as a whole, we can say that all of them are quite obvious and predominantly composed in the 16th century, when the annals ceased to be exclusively political archives and began to play the role of fiction, contemporary historical novels.

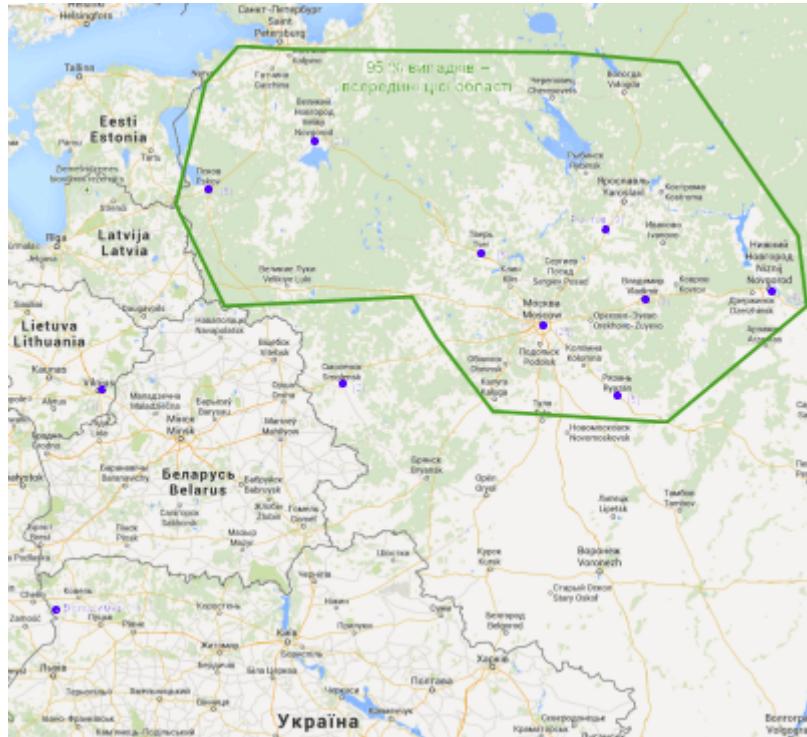
Full text available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Analysis

Chronology

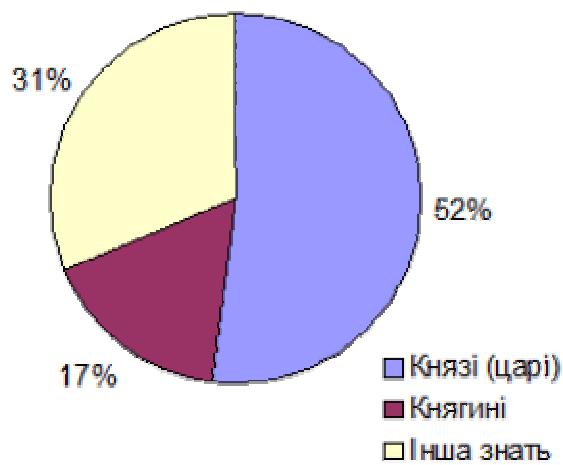


Geography



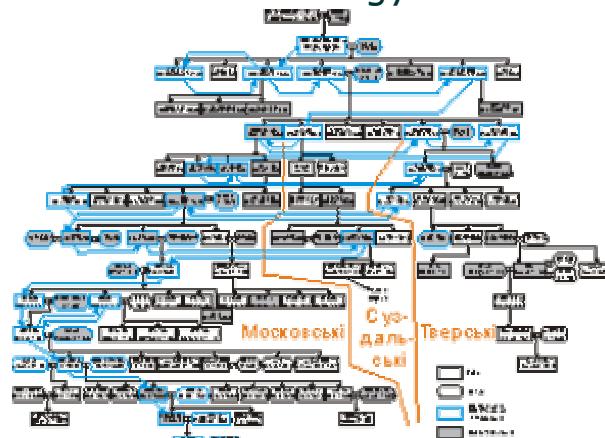
Map of cases dying vows

Sociology

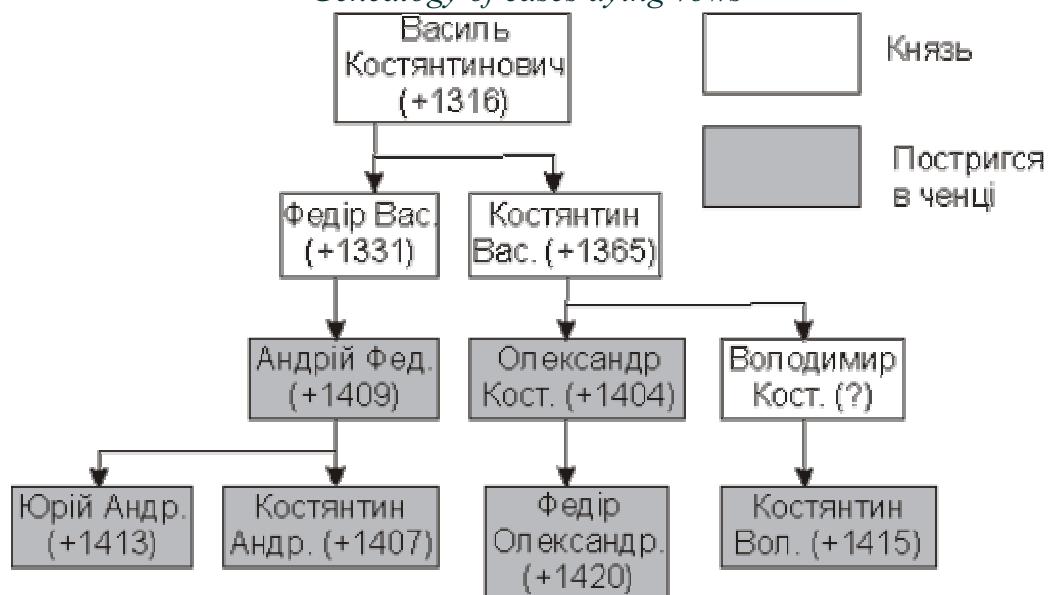


*Distribution of dying vows
for social groups*

Genealogy



Genealogy of cases dying vows



Fragment genealogy princes of Rostov

Full text available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Formula

The most important (fifth) element of our analysis will focus on the formulas by which chronicles reflect the deaths of rulers (+ possible dying tonsure).

Full text available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Principles of naming monks

We have two principles of naming:

- 1, by the name of the saint, which falls on the day of vows;
- 2, by the name of the saint, which begins with the same letter.

We can firmly say that the monk's name is always chosen by coincidence the initial letter and excluding the names of the saints, which falls on that day. This principle can be traced from the first cases (1206) to the last (1605).

Full text available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

History of custom

After analyzing custom dying tonsure from every possible angle, is now time to write its history in the narrow sense – that is, to explain why and how did this custom is spread and why disappeared.

Full text available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Conclusions

1. The purpose of the study was the custom of dying ruler vows as a monk.
2. Cases of such vows often recorded in the annals. Records that come from reputable for this time chronicles are authentic. In later chronicles such recordings could be copied in full, reduced (often by omitting notes on vows) or skipped completely. There are few cases of extension records, except for the first part of the Nikon Chronicle (up to 1428 year).
3. The ancient chronicles do not know fictional cases dying vows. In the annals of 15th – 16th centuries such cases are rare, largely derived from the later chronicles and easily separated from valid entries.
4. Custom dying ruler vows as a monk existed in Russia since the late 12th to the early 17th century. Most cases of this custom is recorded from the 2nd half 14th – the 1st half 15th century. In the 2nd half 15th century the number of cases began to decline, and in the 16th century custom descends almost to zero (the last case was recorded in 1605).
5. Geographical spread of the custom at an early stage (before 1240) covers the land north-east Russia, Smolensk and Volyn principality (in Kiev, Chernigov, Pereyaslavl principalities it is not fixed). Starting from the 2nd half 13th century all collected in the sources of cases concern the north-eastern Russia (95 % of all cases). The largest number of cases recorded in the Moscow principality and Novgorod partly can be explained by better lighting the history of these areas in the chronicles.

6. Cases dying vows recorded mainly for rulers (princes and posadniks in Novgorod and Pskov). For service princes cases vows recorded significantly less than for the ruling princes. This gives reason to believe that the custom of dying tonsure was the prerogative of the ruler, was used primarily to persons of high social status. However, the sources fixed several cases of mass vows as a monk (at the time of death threats from enemies or epidemic).

7. Overlay of cases dying vows on family tree princes gave convincing results only for the descendants of Alexander Nevsky (mainly from the Moscow branch). The use of this rite consistently in four generations suggests that distributing this custom ancestral traditions of considerable importance.

8. To denote the ruler's death in 98 % of cases applied the verb "prestavisja (passed away)." Other expressions should be considered rare. For dying vows formula shows more diversity among them is most frequently used formula "reposed in monk and in schema" (36%). Formula dying vows in the first part of the Nikon Chronicle differ significantly from the formulas used in all other chronicles.

9. The monastic name was chosen from among the names of saints, which begin with the same letter as the worldly name of the person. Any mass application of other principles are not traced.

10. Dying tonsure ceremony in the most details described for the prince of Tver Mikhail Alexandrovich (1399) and the Prince of Moscow Vasily Ivanovich (1533). But also these most detailed descriptions do not give almost anything for understanding the internal content of the ceremony.

11. Fast – within one generation – spread of the custom in most parts of ancient Russia says more about the origin of the custom of the external source than the emergence of it in Rus'. Perhaps there was some significance example of Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus, who before his death became a monk (1180).

12. Fulfillment or no of dying vows not depend on external conditions: there were expressive cases when the external conditions contributed to the tonsure, and it did not take place; there are also expressive cases when the external conditions were not conducive to the tonsure, but it happened. Rite vows fulfilled the highest spiritual person from among those present (metropolitan or bishop), which further gave the ritual nature of social privileges. It should be noted that the Archbishop of Novgorod had never performed this rite.

Addendum

Here are some ideas / notes / works that arose in the course of work on the main theme of rulers dying vows:

Prince Andrew Jaroslavich

The circumstances of the death of Prince Andrew Jaroslavich laid down in the annals contradictory.

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Conclusions

1. The sources value for the events in 1252 has only Laurentian Chronicle (1377). It does not give direction to escape Andrew and contains no record of his death, so the circumstances of his death should be considered unknown.
2. As a literary plot – this story went through three stages of development. In the second stage there was a record of the death of Andrew in 1264, but this date should be considered fictitious. At the 3rd stage, there was a talented short story in Sofia 1st Chronicles (1418), which is a literary processing of the previous two versions. All the "specific details" of this story are fictional author. In the fourth stage (the end. 15 – Ser. 16 cent.) story from Sofia 1st Chronicles underwent further literary adaptations.

3. It should be noted dislike early chronicles, authoritative for 2 half 13 – early 14th cent, to the family of Prince Andrew. We do not know the dates of birth of his sons; we do not know when and how they have returned home and took power in Suzdal; we have almost no mention of the existence of Suzdal princes before recording in 1333 on the death of Prince Alexander Vasilyevich. This conspiracy of silence early chronicles had not was overcome and later – later chroniclers simply did not have source material for this.

Clarification some dates

Although the exact date of our narrow topic – custom rulers vows – of little importance, I still take advantage of the accumulated material to establish the most probable date of death of princes in those cases where there are discrepancies in the annals. This – work on margin of study, or, as is now fashionable to say, a free bonus.

13 cent.

9 cases analysed. Full table available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

14 cent.

23 cases analysed. Full table available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

15 cent.

23 cases analysed. Full table available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

16 cent.

11 cases analysed. Full table available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

3 cases analysed. Full table available in ukrainian / russian versions of article.

Conclusions

Having examined 69 cases, relatively uniformly distributed in the space of five centuries (13th – 17th), we obtain the following conclusions.

1. "Exact dates" (year – month – day) in the annals are extremely diverse element. **The general rule** is a discrepancy in the exact dates in various chronicles, who write about the same event; cases of complete coincidence of these dates in all texts should be considered atypical exceptions.
2. The principle of "voting" (preference for the date, which is fixed in most chronicles) can not have any significance for the establishment of a credible date, because of the many examples above can be seen – false dating copied in the later chronicles without any changes as well willingly, as the correct dating.
3. An authorized (fully justified, irrefutable) can be considered as only such a precise date, which has an additional reference to the day of the week and / or moveable feast – in case: 1, if all these elements dating consistent with each other; 2, if this date is derived from a reputable source.
4. In cases of inconsistency or lack of dating elements indicate the day of the week to determine the most likely (but not authoritative) the date it is necessary to study the record of all chronicles which contain it, in order to determine the source of dating.
5. Often dating from first source still requires further study in the context of adjacent entries of the same year an article or several annual articles. Prominent examples of such studios provide N. G. Berezhkov in the above-cited book – but only for the ancient chronicles.
6. Notes on the feast day of saint or permanent (not moving) holiday are not essential to clarify dating for two reasons:
 - A) having a day + month and calendar, one can specify the name of the saint / holiday, and vice versa. You can never determine whether this information is the first source or effect of chronological calculations editors chronicles.
 - B) at every day of the year has some of the saints, we have seen above examples mismatch authoritative dates with these names for a few days. It is difficult to abandon the assumption that the chronicler referring to the most famous saint / holiday, considering this approximate, but easily understandable guidance more useful than a formally exact.
7. In many cases, night events they could be dated as the previous light day or the next. So the entry "10th, on the night from Saturday to Sunday" with equal probability could mean either "10th, Saturday" and " 10th, Sunday."

Date and place of burial

The question of dates and places of burial for our narrow topic – custom vows stories – not very important. But almost a year collecting materials from various chronicles – why not take a catch and not to highlight this issue also in the margins of my main study.

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Abbreviated names chronicles

The abbreviated names of sources (with end dates):

PSRL – Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles

VS1215 – Vladimir code of 1215 (PSRL, vol. 38, 41)

LL – Laurentian Chronicle (1305) (PSRL, vol. 1)

N1LSI – Novgorod 1st chronicle older recension (1352)

TL – Trinity Chronicle (1408)

RogL – Rogozhsky chronicler (1411) (PSRL, vol. 15)

Sim1L – Simeon 1st Chronicle (1411) (PSRL, vol. 18)

S1LSI – Sofia 1st chronicle older recension (1418) (PSRL, vol. 6)

MAL – Moscow Academic Chronicle (1418) (PSRL, vol. 1)

NCL – Novgorod Karamzin Chronicle (1428); also NKL1 – the first series of statements, NKL2 – the second series of statements (PSRL, vol. 42)

N1LMI – Novgorod 1st Chronicle younger recension (1446)

N4L – Novgorod 4th Chronicle (1447) (PSRL, vol. 4)

LA – Avraamka chronicle (1469) (PSRL, vol. 16)

EL – Ermolin Chronicle (1481) (PSRL, vol. 23)

TipL – Typographical Chronicle (1489, 1534) (PSRL, vol. 24)

MS1492 – Moscow codex of 1492 (PSRL, vol. 25)

Sim2L – Simeon 2nd Chronicle (1493) (PSRL, vol. 18)

MS1493 – Moscow codex of 1493 (PSRL, vol. 27)

L72YA – Annals of the 72 languages (1497, 1518) (PSRL, vol. 28)

S3L – Sofia 3rd Chronicle (which in historiography called Sofia 1st chronicle
Tsarsky copy) (1508) (PSRL, vol. 39)

Chr – Chronograph (1512, 1551) (PSRL, vol. 22)

S2L – Sofia 2nd Chronicle (1517) (PSRL, vol. 6)

IFL – Joasapha Chronicle (1520)

TverL – Tver Chronicle (1534) (PSRL, vol. 15)

IDP – Vologda and Perm Chronicle (1538) (PSRL, vol. 26)

VL – Resurrection Chronicle (1541) (PSRL, vol. 7 – 8)

LNTS – Chronicle of the beginning reign (1552) (PSRL, vol. 29)

NikL – Nikon Chronicle (1558) (PSRL, vol. 9 – 13); Nik1L – part arose prior to 1428 g.; Nik2L – part arose from the 1429

ANL – Alexander Nevsky Chronicle (1567) (PSRL, vol. 29)

Pisklov – Piskaryovsky chronicler (1615) (PSRL, vol. 34)

P1L – Pskov 1st Chronicle (1650)

P2L – Pskov 2nd Chronicle (1486)

P3L – Pskov third chronicle (1650)

MazL – Mazurinsky chronicler (1682) (PSRL, vol. 31)